

## ANOTHER COUP IN VIETNAM, AND WHY

(Mr. ZABLOCKI asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend his remarks and to include extraneous matter.)

Mr. ZABLOCKI. Mr. Speaker, the recent attempted coup in Vietnam points up the problem that existed and still is present in that beleaguered country. The various dissident groups have, during the former President Diem's tenure, perpetrated five coups before the unfortunate overthrow and assassination of President Diem on November 1 of last year.

Since that time, there were two changes in government. General Minh's government lasted 3 months. Now General Khanh in his eighth month of leadership weathered an attempted coup by opposition military factions.

This emphasizes the disunity in the country and indicates the need for a truly strong leader, even though he may be charged with being a dictator. In my opinion, the next few months will be most critical to the final outcome of what will be the fate of Vietnam, therefore, firmness by the government in power is vital.

Further, U.S. efforts must be made clear and forceful; for example, pressure for Cambodian border settlement, shut-off the Ho Chi Minh trail infiltration and the infiltration by sea with a better patrol of the coastline.

This can be accomplished without a major increase in American troops. The United States must help insure that the declaration of General Khanh to first, exert every effort to defeat the Communists—Vietcong—and second, to prepare for a civilian government, will be accomplished.

The problems that plague General Khanh are the same that caused trouble for President Diem. There is a dire need for discipline, honor, and unity as called for by General Khanh. These qualities were not demonstrated by certain Buddhist leaders in the past. The leaders in Vietnam must not only hope for discipline, honor and unity for Vietnam, but must strive for it.

Not the least of the troublemakers in Vietnam is Thich Tri Quang, a ruthless and power-seeking Buddhist. He led the charge of Buddhist persecution by the Diem government which was refuted by the United Nations special mission sent to investigate the charges. Now Tri Quang makes the same accusation of General Khanh's government. He appears to be the master mind behind mobocracy that has kept the country in turmoil and very likely will keep that country in this situation unless something is done.

In the latter months of the Diem government, he sought and obtained asylum in our U.S. Embassy on the plea of Buddhist persecution and that his life was in danger. Now he has shown his true color and intentions by turning on the United States and charging that the religious strife in Vietnam is inspired by the United States.

An article by Miss Marguerite Higgins, entitled "Close Look at Tri Quang," very

succinctly puts the religious problem and the Buddhist influences in proper perspective. I commend her article, which I am including in my remarks, to my colleagues as must reading:

### CLOSE LOOK AT TRI QUANG

(By Marguerite Higgins)

Vietnam's most militant—but by no means most representative—Buddhist leader has now declared virtually open political warfare against the United States. It may be the best thing that has happened in a long time.

For a cold clear look at the venerable Thich Tri Quang is getting increasingly imperative now that he is talking more and more as though the Vietnamese Government is a puppet dancing on his string and as his threats (of street demonstrations, hunger strikes, suicides by fire) grow with each political concession wrested from the current Vietnamese leaders.

A cool hard look is above all in order if it brings some perspective and finally induces Washington to realize that the Tri Quang is not 20 feet high.

Although masterfully successful in the campaign that brought down the Diem family, the Tri Quang may nonetheless have overplayed his hand in taking on the United States.

Last week in his weekly newspaper he sought to pin on the United States responsibility for stirring religious feelings in Vietnam, and particularly for the hostility that resulted in the burning down of a Catholic village and the beating and beheading of eight of its inhabitants.

### UNITED STATES WANTS STABILITY

Such a charge could not, of course, be more absurd. What the United States urgently desires in Vietnam is stability and harmony so that the people can fight the Communist enemy rather than each other.

Tri Quang's anti-American campaign has been going on for nearly 6 months and probably more. This Buddhist leader, who is a kind of political overlord of the Hue region of northern Vietnam, was the author of pamphlets distributed in May that called on the students to "struggle against the cruel American-Khanh authorities" whom Tri Quang accused of "persecuting Buddhists."

In a series of newspaper interviews this spring he made the same complaints of persecution which are as absurd as his complaints that America is stirring up religious rivalries.

By such conduct Tri Quang has been a thorn in the side of every leader in Vietnam who has sought stability beginning with Diem and ending—so far—with General Khanh.

How much truth is there in his frequent claim that he represents "80 percent of the Vietnamese people" in his capacity as a Buddhist leader?

This claim is as absurd as all the rest and if Tri Quang is going to be the leader of the Yankee-go-home movement of Vietnam it is important that the American people know it.

### HAS MANY DIVISIONS

The truth is that Vietnam, far from being divided into Buddhists and Catholics, is composed of an extraordinarily diverse number of tribes and faiths.

There are a million Montagnards (mountain people) who carry spears and believe in spirits of stone and water and who have little resemblance to the more Mongol-looking Vietnamese of the plains.

There are 3 million Confucianists and ancestor worshippers—a holdover from the 900-year Chinese rule.

Taoists number about 500,000. The strange Cao Dai religion which worships Joan of Arc and Victor Hugo as well as Buddha, numbers at least a million and a

half. There are 500,000 members of the Hoa Hao faith which is a mixture of animism, miracle working and Buddhism.

Catholics number a million and a half. There are 500,000 other Christians including Baptists, Mennonites, Seventh-day Adventists, and converts of the Christian and Missionary Alliance. And finally there are 500,000 Hindus and Moslems, including the beautiful people of the non-Mongol Cham tribes.

### ONE-THIRD BUDDHIST

Add up all these people and the result is that out of the 14 million people in Vietnam 9 million are not Buddhists. This leaves 5 million Buddhists at most or slightly more than 33 percent of the population.

In any case, Tri Quang represents only 1 of 14 rival sects in the united Buddhist movement of Vietnam, and his militancy is in vivid contrast to the moderate, rather passive attitudes of most of the Vietnamese monks.

Indeed, he lost his bid to be elected senior Buddhist monk. But his will has prevailed because he is the toughest and most ruthless and because of his demagogic hold over students and street mobs whose violent actions can affect events in a way that is all out of proportion to their importance or their contributions.

But if the Government of Vietnam were at least to resist the mobocracy that has kept the country in turmoil, wouldn't Tri Quang's powers for trouble be checkmated?

## REPORT TO MY CONSTITUENTS ON THE 88TH CONGRESS

(Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON asked and was given permission to address the House for 1 minute and to revise and extend her remarks.)

Mrs. FRANCES P. BOLTON. Mr. Speaker, it has been my custom to report to my constituency upon the work of each Congress. I am therefore including my current report today.

The 1st session of this 88th Congress was the longest in the peacetime history of our Nation. Overshadowing all facets of activity in that session was the tragic and shocking assassination of our President, John F. Kennedy. It remains incomprehensible how in 20th century America such a terrible deed could occur. On December 5, 1963, I joined with other Members of the House of Representatives in a memorial tribute to our 35th President of the United States.

Although the first session was one of the longest in history, there were very few real legislative accomplishments. In December we were still working on departmental appropriation bills which should have been passed by July 1. However, a Congress must be looked at as a whole rather than on a piecemeal basis, and the second session began in earnest just 1 week after the first session adjourned. Whether a Congress is a success or failure should not be judged alone on the quantity of new laws enacted, for the true measure of a Congress could very well be the number of bad bills it refuses to pass. While it is impossible to list all legislation considered by the Congress, here are some of the major issues and a summary comment on them:

### TAX REDUCTION ACT OF 1964

This provided overall personal and corporate tax cuts totaling \$11.5 billion. When the House considered the bill in

September 1963, I joined in supporting a Republican effort to condition the tax cut on a further reduction of fiscal year 1964 expenditures and a level of spending for fiscal year 1965 not to exceed \$98 billion. At that time we could not get such assurances from the administration nor from the majority leadership in Congress. The Senate considered and passed the bill in February 1964. There had been some changes in the meantime. For example, the Congress—through the leadership of the Republican task force on expenditures—had been able to reduce 1964 appropriations by \$6.5 billion and the President limited his new budget to \$97.9 billion. In view of this I voted for the final Senate-House conference report.

In addition to the tax cut, many other changes were made with respect to such matters as deductions for sick pay, dividends and investment credits. I did not agree with all these changes. For example, I regret very much that the dividend tax credit of 4 percent will be eliminated over a 2-year period, and that no provision was added to allow those paying college tuition to deduct a portion of it from taxes. For years I have supported a tuition tax credit proposal and sponsored legislation on this subject. On the other hand, the provision in the bill, allowing those taxpayers 65 years of age or over, relief on the capital gains tax from the sale of their homes, is a very much needed reform.

#### EXCISE TAXES

Despite Republican efforts, the House rejected an amendment to the excise tax extension bill which would have repealed such tax on cosmetics, handbags, furs, and jewelry. During the debate over whether to do something for the ladies, there was general agreement that our excise tax schedule is outmoded. A study is being made by the House Committee on Ways and Means, but it may not be finished until 1966. Such a study is not needed to demonstrate the unfairness of the excise tax on these items which are really a necessity and not a luxury. More than 20 years ago such taxes were imposed as a wartime measure to restrict production as much as to produce revenue. Today there is no reason for discouraging the production or purchase of cosmetics, handbags, furs, and jewelry.

The effort to repeal these taxes which I supported would not have embarrassed the Federal Government financially.

The current rate of 10 percent would have been reduced to 5 percent on July 1 and completely eliminated a year later. This discriminatory excise tax nets about \$517 million annually, an amount representing less than one-half of 1 percent of the 1965 budget. Granted that our tax structure needs further study so that inequities can be corrected, it seems hardly fair that women should continue to be penalized while this study is underway. I regret that the Republican effort to redress this wrong, at long last, was not a success.

#### NATIONAL DEBT LIMIT

Once again the Congress was called upon by the administration to raise the debt limit, this time from \$315 billion to \$324 billion. I opposed this, but it was

passed 203 to 182. Republicans voted unanimously against the increase and we were joined by 28 Democrats. We should not forget that an increase of \$1 billion in the public debt means an increase of \$33.3 million in the annual interest charges. The high cost of public debt is a direct burden on the Nation's taxpayers. According to Tax Foundation, Inc., the Federal debt alone represents a burden of \$5,042 per family. Next year's interest payment on a per family basis amounts to an additional \$187.

#### HILL-BURTON HOSPITAL CONSTRUCTION ACT

The Congress passed legislation to extend the Hill-Burton Hospital Construction Act for 5 years until June 30, 1969. This program, which bears the name of Cleveland's former mayor and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Harold Burton, has been extremely successful in helping provide needed health care facilities. It has produced 289,489 general, mental, tuberculosis, and long-term care beds as well as 1,522 rehabilitation centers, public health centers, diagnostic and treatment centers, and other health laboratories and outpatient facilities. The Hill-Burton program has served as a model of Federal-State-local cooperation as the Federal Government has provided about one-third of the total funds with the remainder coming from State and local sources. Administration of the program is at the State level.

A major change this year puts greater emphasis on modernization of existing hospitals in urban areas. A total of \$160 million will be provided over the 5-year period for remodeling older hospitals. I supported this legislation.

#### NURSE TRAINING ACT OF 1964

The purpose of the Nurse Training Act passed by Congress is to increase the supply of nurses in the United States through a variety of approaches recommended by a consultant group on nursing appointed by the Surgeon General. This bill does the following:

First, establishes a 4-year program of grants totaling \$90 million for construction and rehabilitation of nursing schools.

Second, establishes a program totaling \$17 million over a 5-year period to assist collegiate—4 year—and associate degree—2 year—schools of nursing to meet the additional costs of strengthening, improving, or expanding their training programs; and establishes a 5-year program of grants totaling \$41 million to aid diploma—hospital—schools of nursing.

Third, extends for 5 additional years the existing program of traineeships for advanced training of professional nurses to be teachers, administrators, and supervisors.

Fourth, establishes a student loan program, modeled after the National Defense Education Act for students of nursing at collegiate, associate degree, and diploma schools of nursing. Over a 10-year period, \$85 million would be provided. There would be a forgiveness clause in that up to 50 percent of the loan would be forgiven at the rate of 10 percent for each complete year of full time employment as a professional nurse in

any public or nonprofit institution or agency.

As one who has been interested in the whole nursing problem for a great many years, I supported this bill in a statement before the Subcommittee on Public Health and Safety of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee and on the House floor. I am hopeful that it will be helpful in alleviating the tragic shortage of bedside nurses.

#### MEDICAL SCHOOLS

Public Law 88-129 which I supported, provides for a 3-year, \$175 million program to expand facilities of medical, dental, nursing, and related type colleges. The construction grants must be matched by the institutions. This bill also included \$30.7 million for student loans.

#### HIGHER EDUCATION ACT

Public Law 88-204, which I supported authorizes \$400 million per year for 3 years to aid college classroom construction. This was a brick-and-mortar bill—funds for teachers' salaries and scholarships were not included. Colleges and universities are required to pay at least two-thirds of the cost of each construction project.

#### EXTENSION OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND YOUTH OFFENSES CONTROL ACT

A bill to extend for 2 years the Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Offenses Control Act of 1961, which I supported, was passed by Congress. It is this program which makes possible such projects as the Cleveland Hough area's community action for youth program.

#### EQUAL PAY FOR EQUAL WORK

An equal-pay-for-equal-work bill had been introduced in every Congress since 1945 by both Republicans and Democrats. A bill was finally passed in this 88th Congress, Public Law 88-38 prohibits discrimination in pay on the basis of sex in work that is subject to the minimum wage laws. This excludes from coverage those workers in hotels, motels, restaurants, laundries, and agriculture, as well as certain professional, managerial, and administrative work. Because of this exclusion, this bill was not as strong as those of us who have long worked for equal pay would like it to be. However, it is an important step in the right direction.

#### THE POVERTY PROGRAM OR ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ACT

This legislation has six main titles: The first, and the one on which most emphasis has been placed, is concerned with youth 16 to 21 years of age. It would establish a Job Corps in which young people would be enrolled for a 2-year period in either a conservation corps or training center. This program would be 100 percent federally financed. Work-training programs would be set up whereby young men and women would be hired to work in hospitals, on playgrounds, et cetera, with the Federal Government paying 90 percent of their wages and work-study programs would be established to help needy college students. Title II provides that programs in the fields of health, education, et cetera, now conducted by local public or nonprofit organizations could be